1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole sometimes [342] were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped 249 pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our [314] modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itztac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popucatepetl, itztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quezquitetl tepetl in quintemoaz in quipiquiz.

Auh in quinpiquija, in quimixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, quintlacatlaliaia, quintlacatlachieltiuia, tlacatlachixticatca:

quintlantiaia aiocoachtli, auh in quimjntelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in quimixipetlatiaia, in quinpiquija çan no iuhquj ynic quinchichioaia.

Auh yoan quichioaia, amateteujtl, colchachapatzuia, colchipiniaia, quinquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech quipipiloaia, mecatitech quinemetechcaloaia, quinemetechçaloaia, ymixpan anmoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, quitopilquaujtl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn itech antoc tetzujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaittitatactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn quinchichioaia, in quintlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in quintlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic quintoçaviia, quimcujcatia:

in ceiocal napa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in quinmacaia, quimanaia ymixpã, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

no napa in quintlamacaia ceiocal, yoan quintlapichiliaia,

quinmaquiquixiliaia tecucintli in quinpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujnj, haavienj, mihivintianj, tececmeltianj, ceceleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quinmictia yn tepicme, quinquechcotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechilacatzoa, çatepan quincemololoa, conciecuj, in tepictzoalli, quitquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman ie yc calaqujh yn itlaconantzalhoan, yn jcoaoan, vncan mopia, mopixtuque:

auh in ie iooatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaoana, motlaoancatlalia in veuetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text).* Popocatepetl and Itztac tepetl (Itztac cimtl) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Made of dough (vna masaa)*, in the Spanish columns; *Solac emdarn it zerquetzchten Samen des Stachelmohns* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de gotas de uli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetemitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes eminẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã ſiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notation: *October los dias mes.*

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy ataujadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

1. Marginal notation: *Semroxuj ouey.*
3. Marginal notation: *Expensas hunc Mexic V.*

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezeseis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaç̃, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de maçhete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

2. Marginal notation: *Decembr hs dies xxvj.*

the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecuiotiliztli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnidad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotiliztli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan grañ cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

X796 [805] Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and blood sacrifices which they made on the first day [and] month, which was named, and which they called, Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[1]

Quauitl eua: This day came, and when it was this [month], a feast was then celebrated for the Tlalocs.

[202] Everywhere on mountain tops, blood sacrifices[2] were made and sacrificial banners were hung. Blood sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco, or there in the very gulf of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

[789] At this place they left consecrated papers[3] and set up long poles called *cuexmantli*, by means of which would come to pass greenness, sprouting, and growth.

[777 827] And there they took children, known as "human banners"[4]—those who had two cowlicks of hair and whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere, and bought. It was said: "These are precious blood-offerings. [The rain gods] receive them with rejoicing; they wish for them; they are thus satisfied and given contentment." With them, the rains were sought; rain was asked.

And everywhere, in the houses, in each home, in each of the quarters where the young warriors were trained, and in each tribal temple, everywhere they erected the slender green poles; on them, they placed white paper flags dotted with large and small drops of liquid rubber.[5]

[202 314 289]

Juic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in quitocaiotiaia, in quitoaia atl caoalo anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quaujtl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: iehoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca iehoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc in ca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquaujtl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

1. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitleua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra: *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (Mexico: Tipografia de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli.—Atlacahualco.—Cuahuitlehua.—Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de xilotl ó yloles: nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemazon de los árboles: nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos: segun el P. Leon, derivacion de las aguas, y es la interpretacion de todas que más nos satisface: Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la muger. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y un árbol reverdeciendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero: *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, pp. 401-2: ". . . *el primer mes, cuyo nombre Atcahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cesación del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. La llamaban tambien Quauhitlehua, lo que significa la vegetación de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países frios. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomanaliztli, esto es, oblación de las mazorcas de maiz, porque en él ofrecian a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la sementera que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Angel María Garibay K. in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" (*Tlalocan*, Vol. II), p. 291, translates *cuahuit ehua ss palo se alza*. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cuzcatlán Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.: Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 55, translates the name as *ein Baumes erheben sich* (*machen sich auf dem Weg*).

2. *Nextlaoaloia*. Seler rather consistently renders forms of this word in terms of payment of a debt rather than of a sacrifice. Cf. instead in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885). In *Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 13, Seler says: "The child sacrifices to the rain god were called *nextlamalli* 'the debt paid.'"

3. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 292) translates *teteuitl* as *tiras sagradas*.

4. In *loc. cit.*, Garibay renders *tlacateteuhtin* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl appendix No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 55) refers to them as *Menschen-Opferstreifen* (*Opferpapiere* or *Menschenpanner*). They may actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration (folio: *op. cit.*, p. 60) from the Biblioteca del Palacio MS.

5. See Note 3. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*unos papeles, llenos de gotas de olli a los quales papeles llamauan cuexmantli.*" *Tlaulchachapantli*; cf. *chachaponi*, in Molina (*op. cit.*).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnje excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj in caquitiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn̄, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujzçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

[6] Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: *"es vna sierra enxerta que esta cerca del Tlatelolco."*

[7] *Yiapaltic*, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *yiapalli*. For *papaltic*, Siler (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *grisáceous*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa teñida de negro*; Simeón (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

[8] The Spanish text explains: *"es vna sierra cenicienta que esta cabe guadalupe."*

[9] *Loc. cit.*: *"es aquel montezillo, que esta dentro desta laguna, frontero del tlatelolco."*

[10] *Loc. cit.*: *"es vn monte, que esta en los terminos de tlacuba, y alli cabe tepetzinco."*

[11] *Loc. cit.*: *"es vn monte que esta cabe chalco serrero."*

[12] Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yauacalcozcatl*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Feine*.

[13] Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says *"pusquelas vnas alas de papel como angelas."*

feathers, and in these [the children] were kept

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan quiztilo, teiximitilo, teiximachtilo, quintlamamaca, quihmamaca yn jmamanechichioal: 796 X 289 292

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc ceppa iehoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, iztac,
iccen quinchichioaia, iccen quihmacaia, iccen quitquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic quintlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oaoanozque ça iccen quicuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoahoanchichioa. [317] 796 X 292

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica. [237]

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauizdi, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, quitlquetzriuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca. [714 534]

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oaboanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeoaliztli.

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mouth and University of Utah, 1950), Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of warm paper, and its substitute in Xipe rites, see *op. cit.*, p. 17 and n. 89.

side; some had long hair; some already had hair wound about the head.[9] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in red paper, and painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolol in qujlpia, ichoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conolchichipitza.

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And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers; they painted their faces, fastening [on them] two [circles of] fish paste[10] flecked with iron pyrites on both sides, on their cheeks.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoā qujnxaoaia, ovme qujnpalhuja chapopotli apetzizo, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapetziotilli: necoccampa in camatepa.

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Then, they accompanied the young girls, who carried upon their backs the dried maize, also called Cinteotl. They kept going before them; they went surrounding and encircling them, looking on fascinated. None of those crowded about looked upon them; [none] looked fixedly at them; none joked with them.

Niman ie ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpā hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmolollhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujncecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if anyone was merry with one of them, they chid him. They said unto him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhoja:

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"Verily, he with the long [tangled] hair of a youth also speaketh! Dost thou indeed speak? Be thou concerned over how may be removed thy tuft of hair, thou with the long hair! Thou with the evil-smelling, stinking forelock, art thou not only a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement [yet] been burned."[11]

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh tidlātoa? ma ie ic xitlaocuia, quen uetziz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlatchinauja mocujtl.

Some answered her and said unto her:

"[What thou sayest] is good. I am going, I. I know that it is truth and verity; thou hast done well. Now also shalt thou go. Anoint thy stomach with mud; scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other and fall to the earth; drop upon the dust. There is a stone, a rough one; strike thy face therewith, that blood may spurt forth; scratch thy nose with the stone; or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe, that thou mayest spit through it. Be on thy way; go as thou likest."

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, quitoaia ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocxitmalina, tlalli ic ximoujtequj, tlalli xiqujpotoztziuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, eztli tiqualaacuchoz: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoioni, vmpa ticalchichihcaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj.

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And although these words were thus expressed by

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchicaia

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9. *"Amoxtecolli, sol, ahoxtecolli. cabello largo que dexan a un lado dela cabeça dos vezes quando los trasquilan"* (Molina, *op. cit.*). *Axtlauelli* (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section) is translated as *"Cabellos crecidos y redundados enla cabeça de la muger."*

10. *Chapopotli. See* Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, pp. 72, 195.

11. In view of the double meanings which make this passage difficult to put into English, reference to later passages in Sahagún's *Historia* is helpful. A comment in the Bedwood edition (Vol. I, p. 173) translates *"los mancebos y mancebas y moçuelos"* as *"los que tienen cabeça de cabellos en el coraçon, que llamavan cuexpaliqui."* Dibble's ed. (Vol. II, pp. 331-2): *"Los grandes y pequeños por donde subian los que subian de llegar a los mayores dignidades, eran estos que se siguen: cuando eran preguntados cualquiera mandados o rogavanle la cabeza, y llegando a los dixo: ellos dexabanle crecer una cabeça de cabellos en el coraçon, a la cual ellos llamavanla mocuexpaltic; a los quienes ellos tenian ya aquella cabeça larga, y llamavanles cuexpalchicuepoli, porque ellos ninguna cosa notable habian hecho en la guerra; y si en la guerra acontecia que él y otro, o, él y otros dos a vez, o mas, cautivavan o dejavan de los enemigos, quitandole la cabeça de los cabellos, y aquello era señal de honra. . . .*

"Y cuando quitavan la cabeça del cabellillo, dexavanle una orexa sobre la oreja derecha, que le colgava la oreja a cada un lado que era el derecho, y esta sola oreja que tenia otra preservaba mas honrada, que era señal que en compañia de otros habia cautivado o dejado; y por haber cautivado con sus compañeros, y haber dexadole la cabeça en señal de honra, le señalavan sus abuelos o sus tios diziendole: Vezes nuestro, hase honrado la cara el sol, y la tierra; ya tienes otra cara; porque te atrevistes y te esforçastes a cautivar en compañia de otros; sabes que te calebra mas perderte y que te cautivasen tus enemigos, que no que otro otro cautivase en compañia de otros, porque si esto fuese perderiamos otra cabeça de la cara de la otra orexa, que pareciamos rasurados, y mas se calebra cuando que cautivavan solo."

See also Lib. VIII, *op. cit.*

[796] mant cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [793] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of [292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells; also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite [257] round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

And as many[23] had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanoiotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

. yoan mixquaxexoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetztujaia, conapetztotiaia:

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzitli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzatli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatentli:

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoztli:

auh in cequjntin tlamacazqoe, qujmanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlleteu:

cequjntin qujmanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic qnaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapittaloc, njman ie ic onnetemalo, mec viloa.

Auh in ẽzquichtin, yn oazioaque, oquintetecpanque, quintzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquasquatemoczoltzitzquitimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

Auh in tlamazztoton, yn oazioaque, tolioalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan ichetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcuitinetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaianj, in-

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16. *"Una manta delgada transparente, que se llama ziuchquemitl"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"manta delgada que llamam xiuit"* (Rohrodo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. *"Una flor de papel grande ancha, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the *daquechpanoiotl* as *"ornamento, que es sobre el pescuezo."*

18. *"El colondrillo, una flor de papel, sembrea frezadas, que sobresale a ambas partes de la cabeza a manera de orejas de papel, como rodelas chiquitas,"* said, later in the same chapter, *"era ornamento, que se ponyan tras el colondrillo, como una flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. *"Mexican warriors (sepecuahuaque) adorned the whole of their bodies black except the face, so may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (apanoli)"* (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hoy otra que se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen todas juntas hasta arriba; (y) siempre huele; es sembrada medicinal para los que tienen calenturas, resfriados y bebidos con el cacao: hase de traher, y despues molida y remolada con el cacao. Aprovecha tambien para los que enpiezan empeer; y para los que tienen calenturas"* (Sahagún, Rohrodo ed., Vol. III, p. 270).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquacuiltin* is meant by *quauxolli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quauxolli* as the priest charged with the training of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ihuapalolo yquacic ynic ompeoaltia, quinmictia, quinmamaiana, in tlachichioalli yiiol pepet y yeuintl ome, omoal yeuh pilcontzin, yeuh tzoncuiloh, pepe tlacuiloh mexicapol, quinquixtiaia, quinmamaiana, in tlachichioalli yiiol pepet y yeuintl ome, omoal yeuh pilcontzin, yeuh tzoncuiloh, pepe tlacuiloh mexicapol, quinquixtiaia, quinmamaiana*—and in the midst of them went what is called a mud man, made of mush, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper was hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted longitudinal with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

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And thereupon, when were slain [the captives and the likenesses of the rain gods], then the priests came down. They brought down all the offerings—the rubber-spattered sacrificial banners, and the magney fiber capes painted with designs, also called cloud-face capes, and the green stones, the quetzal feathers, and the incense pieces in the form of men. And they brought down the cloud vessel, now filled with hearts.

Then they took these directly to the water's edge, to a place called Tetamaçolco.

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And when they had arrived there, then they loaded a canoe; they filled it with all the offerings. And all the priests embarked. Then [the canoe] was driven by poles. It was filled by those who poled, who clung [to the poles]. They poled speedily. All the poles were blue, painted and colored blue, and covered with liquid rubber, with an adornment of rubber painted on.

And when they had reached mid-water, at a place called Pantitlan, there they then brought in the canoe. And when they brought it in, thereupon shell trumpets were sounded. The fire priest arose by the prow of the canoe, and then they gave him the cloud vessel, which was now filled with hearts. Thereupon he cast it in the midst of the water, before the stakes [which were in the water]. It fell striking the water with a splash.

And then the water foamed, boiled, and cast up bubbles, which burst. Foam was formed on the water.

Thereupon were hung out, tied upon the stakes, upon the poles, the sacrificial banners. And they bound on green stones. And some [of the green stones] they cast, scattered, and strewed upon the face of the water.[28]

And when this was done, then they went forth. And when they had gone, when they had left, when they were near the opening in the [row of] stakes [which were set in the water], then [the fire priest] took up the incense burner and upon it arranged four sacrificial banners. Thereupon he offered and dedicated [the incense burner with papers], and cast it down, throwing, hurling it [into the water].

And when he had cast it [into the water], then they turned the canoe about. Then they circled back, and used their poles. Some took the prow; some steered.

And when they had reached Tetamaçolco, whence

Auh in ie iuhquí yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oaltemoa in tlamacazque: quioaltemouja yn izquich nextlaoalli, in tetеujtl: yoan ichtilmatli tlacujlolli, yoan itoca aiavizo: yoan in chalchiujtl, yoan quetzalli, yoan copalli, tlatlacatlachia: yoan quioaltemouja in miacmjtl, vncā tetentiuh yn iollotli:

njman qujtlamelaoaltia atenco, itocaiocā tetamaçolco.

Auh yn oacito njman ie ic conacalaquja, conscaltema yn izquich nextlaoalli: yoan onmacaltema yn izquichtī tlamacazque, njman ie ic tlanelolo, contetemj onpipilcatoque in tlaneloa, tequjtlaneloa, in aujctli muchi texōio, tlatezcoujlli, tlatezcoaltilli, yoan tlaulxauhtli, tlaulxaoalli, vlxauhquj.

Auh yn oacito anepantla, itocaiocan pantitlan, njman ic concalaquja yn acalli: auh yn oquicalaquique, njman ie ic tlapitzalo: in tlenamacac acaliacac onmoquetza, njman conmaca in mixcomjtl, yn vncan tentiuh iollotli: njman ie ic contlaça anepantla, ynixpā cuenmantli, iuhquin ontlachaquanitiuetzi, ontlatzoponitiuetzi:

auh njman poçoni yn atl, momoloca, quaqualaca, xixitomj, xixitemomoloca, apopoçoquillotl motlatlalia:

njman ie ic mopipiloa, moolpia in tetеujtl, in quauhtitech yn itech cuenmantli: yoan in chalchiujtl qujlpia, yoan cequj atlan contepeoaia, conchaiaoa, concenmana.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic oalqujxoa: auh yn oqujxoaloco, yn oalqujxooac, yn vncan qujiaoutenpan, yn iquijiaoioc cuenmantli: njman ic concuj in tlemaitl, vncan conmamana nauhtetl tetеujtl: njman ie ic conjiaoa, yn oconjtauh, mec conmaiauj, ica onmajauj, contlaça, ica ontlamotla:

auh yn ocontlaz mec qujmalacachoa yn acalli: mec oalnecuepalo, tlanelolo cequj tlaiacatitiuj, cequj tlacuexcochtitiuj.

Auh yn oacico tetamaçolco, yn vncan neacalaqujlo,

28. See Plate 22. Refer also to Anderson and Dibble, *op cit.*, Plate 33.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teuxollotl*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc cosolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xxxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icaczochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuj-lolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tzotlapilollo:

Auh in tzotlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xolloti, matlatlauhquj, motocaioxia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli.

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana:

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitil-quetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixquichtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in pena mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

796x [300]
796x 292
796x 293
[237]
[535]
[314]
796x 535
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6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9, n. 32.

7. "*Y muuaxtecas,*" in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Nappa tecuhtli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish informant reads: "*Trayan vna rodela pintada, con vnas ojas anchas, de la yerua que se llama atlacuyonaz.*" In Vol. III of the Rebolledo ed., p. 336, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Mss. 368 a 965) del libro XII, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *atlacueçonanj* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans, Hook, Nimfáceas.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llaman tzutli y son estos mayores quando ya son grandes y crudos, y crian: crianuez tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; quando mas son crecidos en años, mas papagayos tanto mas se amarillean sobre, y por esso le llaman tzutli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Rebolledo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las cabeç; hechos de plumas de aguila*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulin*, however, may be an element in *ytzontlapolli*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamen cuchu (y) es muy semejante al que llaman tzutzume; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeça colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo moradas, tan cubillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado oscuro, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas grandes que estan sobre la carne del ala que llaman tzitzil, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el cuello, como pelo medio, que tiene corvo de la cola y carne de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Rebolledo ed.; Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. *ibid.* (Simeón, *op. cit.*: "*para cortarse gentes en danzar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando baylauan en el areyto, yuan arrimando al baston, y ahondale [sic] o cauan del bayle.*"

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1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[16] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[17] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the first priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocateucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic tuj momatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no totzotecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in otlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlalli, coztic tlalli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn nomotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque moxaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oalhemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoalhemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "Los sátrapas, de la diosa chicomecoatl" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "Estos se sahuan, estimo yo es pequeño, que se llamauan [sic] la misma de sabalbachtli" (loc. cit.). Codex Barbonicus, mistaik ol Ordpanmath, Quauhnaua n. Pano y Tovosano, op. cit., p. 143.
17. Xinhuotlalli, in Sahagun (op. cit.) is defined as maiz tengo. Bas, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "Pongasalo abaxo, en un lugar que se llamaua cuauhpal, que era un capatio, que auia cuatro los grados del, y el patio abaxo, al qual capatio subia por cinco, o seys, grados" (corresponding Spanish text).

and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed ima[illegible] only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maisuel, representing the *maguey*; the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

quintlapichilitivitze, iuhquin tlacaoacatiuitz, ynnā ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo quimpepechoa:

auh in cequinti oc vecaioan, in quinpepechoa, inic quintlacatilia, quimixolhuja, yoan mitchioauhtli in quimōdalilia incampan, quinōquentia in tetevitl, yoan quimōoquja imamacal, yiaxtatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iacalco in quintlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in quinchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolputlactli, aztapili, aço atali in impā quitlaliaia:

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic quintlamanjlia: in quinmaniliaia xocoamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan quintlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in motenteca cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixquich in quintlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequintin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Inic ce itoca Tepexoch. Inic vme: Matlalquac. Inic ei: Xochtecatl. Inic navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Inic macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioutzinco in quimpenaltia in quinnapaloiznemj, tlapechtica: motenteoa, quintlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quintlatlaiaolochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, quincujcatitivi.

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8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: *"La color de cada vn vsauan teñir dos veces, vna de prouoca, y otra de soldon. . . ."*
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), *"vsauan a traerse hechos de hoxa, atados con cuyas de venado."*
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Rudowski ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 235, *otzalli* is explained: *"Hay otra que se llama tzompiquilil, es muy verde y tiene unas colillas huecas como aquellas hueras que se llaman otzalli y crian sobre del agua, y cuando se mueue suenan como los clarines cuando la cauan."*

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore returning his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *maguey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *maguey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

in amo mjço quiqepetlaoaia, aocmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen quitquiia in tepãmanj. 796[x] [795 680]

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetqui, amo quia in octli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaaltiaia, quimoacaaltiaia in octli. [834 273]

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalquiça itamachiuhca, çan muchiuquich, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchiuquich, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac quioallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquia in quitlaxichaquia, vel quichtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica quitetecuja, inic amo cuitlaxaianjx in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, inic vel tilinjx, inic vel tzitzican. 796[x] 411 [283] [381]

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa. [314]

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacuitlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocuitlalpia: auh in otlacemquix, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoa in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õnomamanato, njmã ic vivilca.

Auh inic navilhuitl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, iquiçh tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj inic nezviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca quioalquetzaia metl, quimjmjna, vncan neci in aquiqui vel quimaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjaa. 796[x] 526

Auh inic macujkilhuitl, ça mjzcaviaia in mjmjcque, quinchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjxtitl, no achitoton ic conococotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonqui, impã conetecma, in vncan toctinoque, mjmjcque: yoan onetl tropelic tamalli, conteterma, vncan cemjlhuiçia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic quinlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan contlecavia: 796[x] 765

2. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmalo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 280.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlalocs descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlalocs. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *magney* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on cxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic cxtoltetl occe metztli in motenoca Atemuztli. 796

Injc cxtoltetl, occe ilhujtl ichoatl in motenoca Atemuztli:

injc motenoca Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, caoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jzqujch macoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchizcaca, motemachitica: in quenmā oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in coalan qujavitl, njmā ic moquetztiquiça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan quiça: auh in jtzontecōn coatl no cacalaca, no iollo: [445]

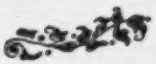
njmā quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in tzjtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin macoalti, monoltiaia injc tepiquixque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia: [314 269]

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiquixque, yoā toquentzinque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oquichcochia. [515 834]

Auh in ie iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh ccioal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "Dejada de el Agua," according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 299), "*porque este Mes nunka Llovia, y nunca dejavan Agua.*" Ordóñez, (*op. cit.*, p. 313) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tower refers to frequent, extraordinary drizzles in the region, attributed to Tláloc.—Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The Palacio MS (Ordóñez, *loc. cit.*) places this in the houses of the rich: "*en aposentamiento de señores principales*"—"*en cada casa de los ricos se hazian los dichos ydolos*" (Translation).
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.



Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—perchance turkeys, perchance birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly formed—perchance maize, or *chía*, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little *tortillas*, [which were] very small,—and thus they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the *tortillas* made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

The Offering of Incense.

And thus was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, then they filled it with *copal* incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where arose the brazier. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the *copal* incense lay smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise at dawn awoke the children, [whether] men[-children] or women[-children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

Nican moteneoa in quenjn tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

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Tlamanalíztli.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein ioioli: aço totolin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxtitiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: cattica in qujtqoja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

Tlenamaqujlíztli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujliztli, in jca tlemaitl: çoqujtl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalquiça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, ic vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoqujtl tlachichioalli.

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[314]

Auh in conmoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemaitl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequaxco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yooatzinco in qujmjxitiaia in tepilhoan, in oquichtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacaxque iciuhca

bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

iatl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic quivalmanaia in ipā acxoiatl vme in vitztli

noviian in aca aço vccan anoço excan in qujmanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama.

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The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Neçolintli.

Jn mjçoia injc qujchioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacaxco, auh njmā ic quivalpipiloiaia in eztli in innacaztitlan. [412]

The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, when one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nenacaztequilintli.

Çan ie no iehoatl in neçolintli in nenacaztequilintli in mjçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cast down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Tlaquechcotonalintli.

Jn tlaquechcotonalitztli ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatototzintli ixpan quicotonaia in Diablo no conjaviliaia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapapatlaztoc in jtlac in tototzintli.

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The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a vessel and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the vessel and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlatlaqualiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlatlatlaqualiliztli, in jcoac oconcltecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman qujcuja in iezço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic qujchichinaltiaia in eztli,

njman ic qujtquja castica in ixqujntin Diablome in tenco qujntlatlaliliaia in eztli muchintin in jezço teumjcquj.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he thus paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nestlavalintli.

Jn nestlavalitztli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in tlein ipā muchivaia, aço cocolitztli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoā amatl injc monxtlavaia, injc [314]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 **Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.**

Injc chicuaceuj capítulo vncan motenecoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalputzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzalxoltzontli tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, injcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaztli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujclalia ujtzilcuitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teocujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, identifies quetzalfeather as *Pharomacrus mocinno mocinno*.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Beltrán, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis*.
5. Cf. Beltrán, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
6. *Quauhtemoctli*: quauh could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *chalchiuhtencolotentetl coztic teucujtlatl yoallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

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643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; apatlactenpilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; metztenpilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green-stone nose rod; chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8] coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; quetzalmacpianjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; quetzalecacozoztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced. xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. ocelocacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] 533 [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. cujcanjmc, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uevetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixquich omjto. Veuej topetenatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaxacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itualco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. tezcatenatli, tziquaoaztenatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1098f., on etymology of ornaments.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelquixtiaia tlatoque. 643

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

In jcoac quiça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh quiiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in quitlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel quiiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan quiça, aiac vel acopa quitta, aiac uel quixnepanoa, [481] 643 644

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheooa, quitlatlaquechilia, quiçaçanjlhuja, [521]

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, quitlanjtoa in jxquich tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, itoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquja ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan quicalaquja olli: njman ic quitlanj in jxquich tlaçotli tlatquitl, auh muchintin quintlanj, in jxquichtin tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maiecatl, nelpiloni, queçeatl. 345 526

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl naubtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in quichaiaoa in nauhtetl etl, quicujloa ce petlatl, tlilticа, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoalteuh icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, quitlanjlia in ixquich tlaçotli, cozic teucujtlacozcatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. *Tlaiolli*: the corresponding Spanish has *dones* (*dowell*). See also below, *description of patolli*.

291
531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers: the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impor-

Ic cuxolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioaia in çioa.

Vitztecolcujtlalpic vipilli, xonoloio ujpilli, quechnenecujlhoazio vipilli, xuchimoiaoac ujpilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachtli itoquj, toltzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoiujvipilli, tlapaltochcmajtica xicalnetzo[illegible]o vipilli, acocoruchimoiaoac vipilli, izquiuhcallo potoncaio xochiteio vipilli.

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cueitl. patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliuhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoliuhquj iztac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: coioichcapipilcac cuejtl tene.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli iztac, coztic teucujtlanacochtli: iztac teucujtlanacochtli, jtznacochtli iztac.

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoatzaltica: moxaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapoporaoaia: copalaxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonqueme, quatequeque, aztotzcoleque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzaltica, qujquatequj in jntzon, qujiaiacanepanoa in jntzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinemj, quimamaujzmati in jntzontecon: moxiuhquilpa, injc pepetlaca intzon: motlanthapalhujia, motlãnochezuja, momaicujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetema, melchiqujuhicujloa, mochichioaticujloa.

1. In Herrodotus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24, *arvezdehid* is identified as *Dahlia coccinea*, Cav. Rammatería (*op. cit.*, I, p. 35), however, says of *arvezze*: "En México, variedad de calabaza cruda, indígena del país, conocida también por chuzze. (Lagenaria vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas curanderiles de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *cuauxpalli* (*cuaxochi*, *quilit*), of one of which Herrodotus is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores estrelladas purpúreas*". Dr. Oliva is stupid (Hist. de Farmacología, II, p. 276), giving *Prostanthera atropurpurea* D. C. for *arvezze*; Urbina thinks it is *Atriplex atropurpurea* Benth et Hook.

2. After *in jntzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mixquatzopilio*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

443 643 656 262

and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6] maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitziuacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] zapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Canna* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves; maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

314 317 412 413

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitziuocaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzqujtl, itlaaqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaioth, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepoxcoiololonjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli quilitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalquilitl, vitzquilitl, oauhquilitl. oauhtzontli, itzmjquilitl, quillanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, xoxoxoco, aioiacaquilitl, aionanacatl, aioxochquilitl, eçoquilitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, oatl, mjiaoatamalli,

4. *Atzacuanime*: "*son redondillas, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son crecientes y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac, vienen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas a llouia; son muy buenas de comer. Duran quatro, y los verdes del agua, por tiempo se cuelgan en pesos, dicen que las son entrar a bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que vienen más pereçes*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilotes*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipizcan*: "*son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto vuelo, crianse sobre la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maiz vienen acá dentro a la tierra; cuando estas aves vienen, entienden que es tiempo de coger el maiz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *appiscus*.

6. *Tlalalacatl*: "*Anseres mancchas . . . grandes como las de España: tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos: tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprouechan para hazer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas cañones para escriuir*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 168). These (*dalalcame*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto genero de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy tostado y mezclado con sal*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Sanders, *op. cit.*, note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tezocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomixtle*—*Tigridia pavonia* Kerr; *orchidaceae*, of edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 857.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dermodium amplifolium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. paniculatum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chiauil*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhtzonmachtli* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlhuatl*: *metl* (maguey), *cuihuayotl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simeon must be in error in translating *mitzpoloa* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the *Badianus MS* (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*pinzpoloa*) as, "*En México especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

19a. See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-6, 569. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium: *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. pueblense* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoxouilli*: *xocoyol*—*Oxalis angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. tetraphylla* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *sorrel* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *xocoxouhqui* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
[301
314
323
325]

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites*[a]
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[b]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things."[c]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles)."[d]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,"[e] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[f] [386]

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered."[g] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper."[h]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[b] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[c] "A Motecçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[d] "Era de Motecçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las llevavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[e] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que es una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a Mexico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[f] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran mantas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[g] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas veces del año enbiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques cobre" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[114] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[262] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] [313] 314
- 16 pieces of colored lacquer
- 268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
- 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
- 20 loads of copal[a]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [138] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[b] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[c]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[d] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

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[a] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[b] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[c] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[d] *PNE*, 5: 210.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[*] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**][31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48[r] of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[31] Corrected from 1,600.
[32] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[33] Cf. n. 6 above.
[34] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[35] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/A [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[39]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[40]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

Tribute of the component towns.—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[41]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[39] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[40] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholtan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[41] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cucaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.
[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.
[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."
[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.
[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."
[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."
[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.
[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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Zapotec NU44

A 648 through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other A Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were Z clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the [29] Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who 171] have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peace- A able manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers •[314] containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

262 643 276 314

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

651 212 289 344 411

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deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches